

Chapter 12

Endnotes

1. Washington Post, 9/26/1964; New York Journal American, 9/26/1964; (Washington) The Evening Star, 9/26/1964.
2. Report of the President's Commission on the Assassination of John F. Kennedy (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1964), 24 (hereafter cited as WCR). For the pertinent pages in Chapter 8 supporting the Commission's criticisms see WCR, 439-444. DeLoach to Mohr, 9/25/1964, FBI Liaison with Commission, 62-109090-333. *HL*
3. Gale to Tolson, 12/10/1963, HQ FBI Administrative Matters File, 62-198-3050. For more on the Gale Report see Chapter 11; Gale to Tolson, 12/10/1963, HQ FBI Personnel File, 62-67799-436; WCR, 439-444; Gale to Tolson, 9/30/1964, HQ FBI Hosty File, 62-494012-133, 6, or see *Investigation of the Assassination of John F. Kennedy, Hearings before the Select Committee on Assassinations of the U.S. House of Representatives, 95th Congress, 2nd session, Volume III* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1979), JFK Exhibit 461, 536 (hereafter cited as HSCA). *DC S*
4. See Hoover marginalia, FBI Liaison with Commission File, 62-109090-328. *HL*
5. Belmont to Tolson, 9/28/1964, FBI Liaison with Commission File, 62-109090-4199. *HL*
6. WCR, 104 (Hoover), ibid., 29 (Belmont), ibid., 462, 464 (Hosty), all testified that Oswald never indicated that he had a propensity for violence. *Interesting*
7. For this development see Chapter 9.
8. WCR, 19, 111.
9. During the remaining years of Hoover's tenure as Director of the FBI the agency never changed its version of the shooting sequence to bring it in line with the Commission's reported conclusions. In 1966 on the third anniversary of the JFK assassination *Life* magazine pointed out the discrepancy between the FBI and the Warren Report on the shooting. When it was brought to Hoover's attention he wrote in the margin of the memo "We don't agree with the Commission as it says one shot missed entirely & we contend all 3 shots hit." Rosen to DeLoach, 11/22/1966, HQ JFK Assassination File, 62-109060-4267.
10. Belmont to Tolson, 9/28/1964, FBI Liaison with Commission File, 62-109090-4199.

11. (Belmont) to Tolson, 10/1/1964, FBI Liaison with Commission File, 62-109090-510.
12. Branigan to Sullivan, 9/29/1964, FBI Liaison with Commission File, 62-109090-NR (not recorded). For more on Bouck's Commission testimony see Chapter 11. See also WCR, 440; Sullivan to Belmont, 9/29/1964, FBI Liaison with Commission File, 62-109090-NR.
13. Resumes of the Warren Commission assistant counsels can be found in Record Group (RG) 272, JFK Collection, at the National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland (hereafter cited as NARA).
14. Stern interview with Mike Ewing, HSCA, JFK Collection, RG 233, NARA, 2.
15. For Stern's August 1964 draft of Chapter 8 see Rankin Papers, box 14, folder 209, NARA. For Cooper's specific comments on the August draft see ibid., box 33, folder 432. For McCloy's editorial comments on the Stern draft see ibid., box 27, folder 388.
16. Branigan to Sullivan, 4/17/1964, FBI Liaison with Commission File, 62-109090-136, 2; Belmont to Tolson, 5/21/1963, FBI Liaison with Commission File, 62-109090-163; Rosen to Belmont, 6/3/1964, FBI Liaison with Commission File, 62-109090-185.
17. Les Whitten, "Deficiencies—The Rebuke to the Secret Service and the FBI," New York Journal-American, 9/29/1964; Fulton Lewis, Jr., "J. Edgar Hoover's Advice," New York Journal-American, 9/28/1964; Drew Pearson, "Secret Service Laxity Confirmed," Washington Post, 9/28/1964; FBI Liaison with Commission File, 62-109090-NR; "Texas Duplicates Warren Group's Conclusions," Washington Post, 10/5/1964; San Antonio to Director, 10/5/1964, FBI Liaison with Commission File, 62-109090-NR.
18. Most of these letters can be found in FBI Liaison with Commission File, 62-109090 serials 242-264.
19. For an excellent treatment of DeLoach's FBI career see Sanford Unger, FBI: An Uncensored Look Behind the Walls (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1976), 279ff; Belmont to Tolson, 10/1/1964, FBI Liaison with Commission File, 62-109090-NR.
20. Unger, FBI, 280; DeLoach to Mohr, 10/6/1964, FBI Liaison with Commission File, 62-109090-253.
21. Walter Pincus, "How the FBI Used Reporters," Washington Post, 6/1/1976; John Chamberlain, "These Days. . . Pity the Poor FBI," Washington Post, 10/2/1964; Jerry O'Leary, "Hoover Says Data Called Oswald Safe," The Washington Evening Star, 10/2/1964; John T. O'Rourke,

"Mr. Hoover's Testimony, Washington Daily News; Walter Trohan, "Report From Washington," Chicago Tribune, 9/30/1964; Ralph de Toledano, "The FBI and the Warren Commission," Washington Daily News, 10/2/1964; Victor Riesel, "What Price Presidential Safety?," New York Daily News, 10/16/1964; William F. Buckley, Jr., "Dissent to Warren" Washington Daily News, 10/16/1964; DeLoach to Mohr, 9/28/1964, FBI Liaison with Commission File, 62-109090-214.

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22. DeLoach to Mohr, 10/6/1964, FBI Liaison with Commission File, 62-109090-253; Director to All Field Offices, 9/28/1964, FBI Liaison with Commission File, 62-109090-206.

23. DeLoach to Mohr, 10/6/1964, FBI Liaison with Commission File, 62-109090-253; Brennan to Sullivan, 9/29/1964, FBI Liaison with Commission File, 62-109090-NR. These Hoover notes to O'Leary, Buckley, Trohan, O'Rourke, de Toledano, and others can be found in the FBI's Liaison with Commission File, 62-109090 for the first two weeks in October 1964.

24. DeLoach to Mohr, 10/6/1964, FBI Liaison with Commission File, 62-109090-253, 3; Hoover to Jenkins, 10/1/1964, FBI Liaison with Commission File, 62-109090-241; Katzenbach to Dear Walter (Jenkins), 10/1/1964, FBI Liaison with Commission File, 62-109090-263.

25. Palm Beach Times, 9/24/1964, 4. Former Assistant Director Sullivan, who had his own very large axe to grind where Hoover and DeLoach were concerned, details just how the FBI "handled" the Jenkins affair for the White House. See William C. Sullivan, The Bureau: My Thirty Years in Hoover's FBI (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1979), 68-70; Robert Dallek, Flawed Giant: Lyndon Johnson and His Times, 1961-1973 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 179-182; Hoover memo, 10/30/1964, FBI Liaison with Commission File, 62-109090-NR.

26. Gale to Tolson, 9/30/1964, FBI HQ Hosty File, 67-494012-133; James P. Hosty, Jr., Assignment Oswald (New York: Arcade Publishing, 1996), 163-167.

27. R. Davidson to Callahan, 9/25/1964, FBI HQ Hosty File, 67-494012—obliterated; Gale to Tolson, 9/30/1964, FBI HQ Hosty File, 67-494012-133, 3; The Dallas Times-Herald, 10/21/1964, 65. For Hosty's exchange with McCloy see WCR, 439.

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28. Rosen to Belmont, 10/2/1964, FBI Liaison with Commission File, 62-109090-355; Gale to Tolson, 9/30/1964, FBI HQ Hosty File, 67-494014-133, 6; Hosty, Assignment Oswald, 164. Hosty implies that the FBI "dirty laundry" he would expose was the government's suppression that Oswald was in Mexico City to meet with his KGB handlers in Directorate Thirteen ("wet acts" branch) who had targeted President Kennedy for assassination. The FBI conducted a massive investigation into Oswald's Mexico City venture and convincingly established that there was no "Red plot." But Hoover and FBIHQ had reason to fear that a disgruntled Hosty might give up the

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29. Director J. Edgar Hoover to James P. Hosty, Jr., 10/5/1964, FBI Personnel Matters File, 67-425-1749.

30. Hosty, Assignment Oswald, 124-125, 166; Hosty to Hoover, 10/5/1964, FBI Personnel Matters File, 67-425-1746.

31. SAC, Dallas, to Director, FBI, 10/5/1964, FBI Personnel Matters File, 67-425-1747; Shanklin to Hosty, 1/21/1964, James P. Hosty, Jr., Papers, JFK Collection, NARA; Gale to Tolson, 9/30/1964, FBI HQ Hosty File, 67-494012-133; Hoover to Hosty, 10/8/1964, FBI Personnel Matters File, 67-425-1755.

32. DeLoach to Mohr, 9/30/1964, FBI Personnel Matters File, 67-obliterated; The Dallas Times-Herald, 10/21/1964; Shanklin to File, FBI Personnel Matters File, 67-425-1751.

33. Shanklin to File, 10/13/1964, FBI Personnel Matters File, 67-425-1759; The Dallas Times-Herald, 10/14/1964 and 10/21/1964; Shanklin to File, 10/13/1964, FBI Personnel Matters File, 67-425-1759.

34. The Dallas Morning News, 10/14/1964; The Dallas Times-Herald, 10/21/1964, 65.

35. Rosen to Belmont, 10/2/1964, FBI Liaison with Commission File, 62-109090-220. As a member of the "Re-Editing Committee" Rankin assigned Willens to edit the Report's Chapter 8. See HSCA, Volume XI, 463.

36. Rosen to Belmont, 10/2/1964, FBI Liaison with Commission File, 62-109090-220.

7. 37. DeLoach to Mohr, 11/18/1964, FBI HQ Oswald File, 105-82555-NR. For the FBI's own acknowledgment that it had closed the Kennedy assassination case see *Appendix A*, 4, item 8 under "C;" Jones to Wild, 10/18/1966, FBI Liaison with Commission File, 62-109090-518; The Evening Star, 11/19/1964.

38. For Rankin's comments see HSCA, XI, 49, 392, and 385. For the FBI's assessment of this relationship see FBI damage-control tickler, *Appendix A*, item 3, "Bureau Relationship with Warren Commission," and B. "Assistance to Warren Commission."

39. HSCA, XI,(March 1979), 49, 385.

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29. Director J. Edgar Hoover to James P. Hosty, Jr., 10/5/1964, FBI Personnel Matters File, 67-425-1749.

30. Hosty, Assignment Oswald, 124-125, 166; Hosty to Hoover, 10/5/1964, FBI Personnel Matters File, 67-425-1746.

31. SAC, Dallas, to Director, FBI, 10/5/1964, FBI Personnel Matters File, 67-425-1747; Shanklin to Hosty, 1/21/1964, James P. Hosty, Jr., Papers, JFK Collection, NARA; Gale to Tolson, 9/30/1964, FBI HQ Hosty File, 67-494012-133; Hoover to Hosty, 10/8/1964, FBI Personnel Matters File, 67-425-1755.

32. DeLoach to Mohr, 9/30/1964, FBI Personnel Matters File, 67-obliterated; The Dallas Times-Herald, 10/21/1964; Shanklin to File, FBI Personnel Matters File, 67-425-1751.

33. Shanklin to File, 10/13/1964, FBI Personnel Matters File, 67-425-1759; The Dallas Times-Herald, 10/14/1964 and 10/21/1964; Shanklin to File, 10/13/1964, FBI Personnel Matters File, 67-425-1759.

34. The Dallas Morning News, 10/14/1964; The Dallas Times-Herald, 10/21/1964, 65.

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39. HSCA, XI, (March 1979), 49, 385.

40. Ibid., Griffin, 265, 43, 277, 293, and 48; ibid., Willens, 47-49; ibid., Redlich, 46-47.

41. HSCA, XI, Redlich, 131; Norman Redlich Biographical Sketch, Norman Redlich Papers, National Archives, Washington, D.C., 191 (hereafter cited as R-191). The Redlich Papers are now housed at NARA and the collection may have a different citation scheme.
42. For the FBI raw data file on Redlich see SAC, New York, to Director, FBI, 12/26/1963, FBI Liaison with Commission File, 62-109090-NR; Sam Tanenhaus, Whittaker Chambers: A Biography (New York: Random House, 1997), 206, 231, 272, 288, and 518.
43. SAC, New York, to Director, FBI, 2/26/1963, FBI Liaison with Commission File, 62-109090-NR for this 10-page Letterhead Memorandum on Norman Redlich; Rosen to Belmont, 1/3/1964, FBI Liaison with Commission File, 62-109090-67; Jones to DeLoach, 2/25/1964, FBI Liaison with Commission File, 62-109090-120.
44. Rankin's letter to Redlich confirming his employment was 12/20/1963, Rankin to Redlich, 12/20/1963, National Archives, Washington, D.C., R-182; Leonard T. DeLisio (GSA Security Officer) to Rankin, 1/3/1964, National Archives, Washington, D.C., R-3, R-4.
45. J. Walter Yeagley (Associate Attorney General) to Senator William Proxmire, 6/20/1964, ibid., R-199; Rankin to Hoover, FBI's Norman Redlich File, 140-29239-1.
46. Warren Commission, executive session, 5/19/1964, NARA, 1-2; Richard Gid Powers, Not Without Honor: The History of American Anti-Communism (New York: The Free Press, 1995), 307; Walter Goodman, The Committee: The Extraordinary Career of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1964), 412, 430-431; Warren Commission, executive session, 5/19/1964, 3.
47. Jones to DeLoach, 2/25/1964, FBI Liaison with Commission File, 62-109090-120; Goodman, The Committee, 417.
48. McNamara to Ford, 2/24/1964, Redlich Papers, National Archives, Washington, D.C., R-8; McNamara to Ford, 2/27/1964, ibid., R-6; Goodman, The Committee, 384, 397; Frank J. Donner, Age of Surveillance: The Aims and Methods of America's Political Intelligence System (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1980), 420.
49. *Tocsin*, 2/12/194, Vol, 3, No. 6, 1-2. A copy can be found in Redlich Papers, National Archives, Washington, D.C., R-178.
50. The Redlich Papers housed at the National Archives in Washington, D.C. was a collection more than three inches high. Most of the collection is composed of letters from citizens to their congressional representatives and letters from House and Senate members to the Commission.

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51. Rankin to Hoover, 3/16/1964, FBI Norman Redlich File, 140-29239-1; Rankin to Hoover, ibid., 140-29239-41; Shanklin to File, 3/18/1964, Main Dallas Oswald File, 100-10461-4524; W. V. Cleveland to Evans, 4/1/1964, FBI Norman Redlich File, 140-29239-29 or FBI Liaison with Commission File, 62-109090-NR.

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51. Hoover to Rankin, 4/16/1964, FBI Norman Redlich File, 14029239-48; "JFK: The Untold Story of the Warren Commission," U.S News & World Report, 8/17/1992, 36; Warren Commission, executive session, 5/19/1964, 8 (hereafter all cites of the May 19 executive session will read WCES,8).
(Ford), (Shanklin used)

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52. Hoover to Rankin, 4/16/1964, FBI Norman Redlich File, 140-29239-48; Hoover to Ranklin, 4/6/1964, ibid., 140-29239-41; Cleveland to Evans, 4/1/1964, ibid., 140-29239-29.

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453. WCES, Ford, 8-9; WCES, Boggs, 8-9; WCES, Russell, 6, 19; WCES, Cooper, 10-11; WCES, Dulles, 11-12.

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54. Jerry terHorst, "Warren Probe," *The Washington Star*, 5/18/1964; Jerry Ford, A Time to Heal: The Autobiography of Gerald R. Ford, (New York: Harper & Row, 1979), 31.

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55. WCES, Warren, 28-29, 13, 14, and 15.

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56. WCES, Rankin, 30-31; WCES, McCloy, 16-17, 26-27; WCES, Russell, ~~used~~ ^{used} ^{test} ^{re.}

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57. WCES, Ford, 42-46, 49; Rankin to Senator Thomas Dodd, 6/15/1964, Redlich Papers, National Archives, Washington, D.C., R-264. ^{miss} ^{here}

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58. See *Appendix A*, under 3. "Bureau Relations with Warren Commission," "A," item 5 and under "C," item 1. For the 16-page FBI memo see Rosen to Belmont, 10/2/1964, FBI Liaison with Commission File, 62-109090-385. ~~omit~~

60. For a synopsis of the FBI's derogatory information of Warren Commission personnel see Rosen to Belmont, 10/2/1964, FBI Liaison with Commission File, 62-109090-385.

61. Rosen to Belmont, 10/2/1964, FBI Liaison with Commission File, 62-109090-385; *Final Report of the Assassination Records Review Board* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1998), 105 (hereafter cited as ARRB Final Report). ~~omit~~

62. See *Appendix A*, 3, "Bureau Relationship With Warren Commission," "A," item 5 and ibid., and 4, "Related Bureau Actions and Activities," "C," item 1. For Redlich's RI status see Rosen to Belmont, 10/2/1964, FBI Liaison with Commission File, 62-109090-385, 10. For the operational definition of Reserve Index see Ann Marie
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Buitrago and Leon Andrew Immerman, Are You Or Have You Ever Been in the FBI Files? (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1981), 203; See *Appendix A*, 4, "C," item 7.

CHAPTER
13

- #1 63. Barbie Zelizer, Covering the Body: The Kennedy Assassination, the Media, and the Shaping of the Collective Memory (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 112-113.
- 2 64. Hosty, Assignment Oswald, 187-188, for Hosty's explanation for Shanklin's early retirement.
- 3 65. Director Kelley identified the caller as Tom Johnson, staff writer for the Dallas paper. See Clarence M. Kelley, Kelley: The Story of An FBI Director (Kansas City: Andrews, McMeel, & Parker, 1986), 251; J. D. Adams to Callahan, 7/14/1975, HQ JFK Assassination File, 62-109060-7226X; Shanklin testified before the Edwards committee that he retired on June 27, 1975. See *Hearings before the Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights of the Committee on the Judiciary House of Representatives*, 94th Congress, 1st & 2nd sessions, FBI Oversight, serial no. 2, part 3 (hereafter cited as FBI Oversight), 103; Hosty, Assignment Oswald, 188.
- 4 66. *The Dallas Times Herald*, "Oswald Threat Revealed," 8/31/1975, 1-A. A summary of the Sunday phone call from the anonymous female can be found in FBI releases to the HSCA, items 326, 327 or see Director, FBI to Attorney General, 10/1/1975, HQ JFK Assassination File, 62-109060-7302X, 6.
- ✓ 67. Adams to Callahan, 7/17/1964, HQ JFK Assassination File, 62-109060-7226X1; FBI Director to All SACS, 8/31/1975, Main Dallas JFK Assassination File, 89-43-9556; *The Dallas Times Herald*, 8/31/1975, "Statement from the FBI."
- 6 68. Director, FBI to Attorney General, 10/1/1975, HQ FBI JFK Assassination File, 62-109060-7302X, 2. For a list of the names of those interviewed see ibid., Appendices A-D.
- 7 69. Director, FBI to Attorney General, 10/1/1975, HQ FBI JFK Assassination File, 62-109060-7302X, (Roberts) 3-4, (Horton) 7, (Howe) 12-13, 27, (Shanklin) 25-26, (Hosty) 21-23. See Chapter 11 for more on the results of Inspector Bassett's interviews of agents and employees of the Dallas field office.
- 8 70. Alfred L. Hantman, Deputy Chief, General Crimes Section, to Richard L. Thornburgh, Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division, 10/15/1975, Justice Department, Criminal Division, JFK Assassination File, 51-16-1113 (hereafter cited as J.D. Crim. Div. File), 2; John C. Kenney, Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division, to Thornburgh, 8/6/1975, ibid.

- 9-71. Hosty, Assignment Oswald, 191-193 for Hosty's explanation as to why the Justice Department decided not to prosecute. See *The Dallas Morning News*, 12/8/1980 for Earl Goltz piece "Back pay can't erase censured agent's years of pain."
- 10-72. Kenney to Thornburgh, 8/6/1975, J.D. Crim. Div. File, 51-16-1113; Hantman to Thornburgh, 10/16/1975, ibid.; Edward Lowenburgh, Attorney General Crimes Section, Criminal Division, to Hantman, 10/21/1975, ibid.
- 11-73. Harold R. Tyler, Jr., to Director Kelley, 10/20/1975, J.D. Crim. Div. File, 51-16-1113; FBI Oversight, 62 (Shanklin); Thomas H. Henderson, Jr., Chief Public Integrity Section, to Thornburgh, Criminal Division, 11/2/1976, J.D. Crim. Div., 51-16-1113.
- 12-74. Unger, FBI, 199-205. Joseph L. Schott, who served under Shanklin in the Dallas office, thought Shanklin was "like most SACs . . . was highly institutionalized. He probably wouldn't go to the bathroom during working hours without asking Bureau permission. See Schott to Harold Weisberg, 7/2/1979, letter in Weisberg's subject index file, Weisberg Archive, Hood College, Frederick, Maryland.
- 13-75. See Appendix A, under "Early Bureau Response to the President's Assassination," "B," item 3.
- 14-76. Director to All SACS, 8/31/1975, Main Dallas JFK Assassination File, 89-43-9556 or see Kelley's statement in *The Dallas Times Herald*, 8/31/1975.
- 15-77. Cartha D. "Deke" DeLoach, Hoover's FBI: The Inside Story of Hoover's Trusted Lieutenant (Washington, D.C.: Regnery Publishing, Inc., 1995), 315-316; Bassett to Callahan, 9/29/1975, HQ JFK Assassination File, 62-109060-7302X, 14-15.
- 16-78. Bassett to Callahan, 9/29/1975, HQ JFK Assassination File, 62-109060-7302X, 14-15; Sandy Smith, "The Oswald Cover-Up," *Time*, 9/15/1975, 19.
- 17-79. Hosty, Assignment Oswald, 59, for Hosty's claim that Shanklin was a prominent member of the Mohr faction. For Sullivan's statement see Bassett to Callahan, 9/29/1975, HQ JFK Assassination File, 62-109060-7302X, 19-20.
- 18-80. Smith, "The Oswald Cover-Up," *Time*, 9/15/1975, 19. Bassett to Callahan, 9/29/1975, HQ JFK Assassination File, 7302X, 16. Mohr declined Adams' suggestion that he sue, but he was willing to appear as a witness if the government would file a suit for libel on his behalf.
- 19-81. Bassett to Held, 8/17/1976, 4, the file name and serial were blacked out in this document.
- 20-82. Bassett to Held, 8/17/1976, 1-3; B.H. Cooke to Gallagher, 10/18/1975, HQ JFK Assassination File, 62-109060-7387.